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## Negotiating Language in the Opening of Japan: Luo Sen's Journal of Perry's 1854 Expedition

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In the negotiations between the United States and Japan that resulted in the treaty that marked the end of Japan's policy of seclusion (1854), not only the Japanese and English languages but also Chinese and Dutch were recognized for official communications. The chief U.S. interpreter, S. Wells Williams, had long experience in China and expertise in the Chinese language but not in Japanese. For preparation of written documents and participation in "brush conversations," he required the assistance of an educated Chinese assistant, and for Perry's second voyage to Japan in 1854 he engaged the service of Luo Sen. Luo kept a journal of his visit to Japan and the Ryukyus that was published soon after his return to Hong Kong in both Chinese and English; the English version was included in the official record of Perry's mission, published in 1856-57. Since then almost forgotten in the West, Luo's journal merits rediscovery for the insight it affords into cultural relations between Japan and China in the bakumatsu period, mutual understanding and misunderstanding among Japanese, Americans, and Chinese, and the status of Chinese as a negotiating language in the communications of two non-Chinese speaking nations.

**Keywords:** MATTHEW C. PERRY, U.S.-JAPAN TREATY OF PEACE AND AMITY, LUO SEN (RA SHIN), *JOURNAL OF A VISIT TO JAPAN*, S. WELLS WILLIAMS, CHINESE LANGUAGE, MEDIUM LANGUAGE, NEGOTIATION, BRUSH CONVERSATION (*HITSUDAN*), *NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION OF AN AMERICAN SQUADRON TO THE CHINA SEAS AND JAPAN*

In early April 1854, having learned that the Kanagawa Treaty (U.S.-Japan Treaty of Peace and Amity) had been signed by Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry and Hayashi Daigaku no kami 林大学頭, Yoshida Shōin 吉田松陰 (1830-59) and his fellow Chōshū

samurai Kaneko Shigenosuke 金子重輔 (1831-55) began to make all-out efforts to evade bakufu restrictions on foreign travel and to smuggle themselves to the Western world aboard an American “black ship.” They prepared a well-written petition in literary Chinese and brief notes in both Chinese and Japanese,<sup>1</sup> and selected a few books to take with them, including the *Book of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經), *References to the Selected Tang Poems* (*Tangshi-xuan zhanggu* 唐詩選掌故), and two Dutch-Japanese dictionaries.<sup>2</sup> Following Perry’s squadron all the way from Yokohama to Shimoda, they finally got a chance to pass the petition and the notes to an American officer who happened to come ashore on 24 April.<sup>3</sup> Around two o’clock the next morning, they succeeded in reaching the deck of Perry’s flagship, the *Powhatan*, where they repeatedly appealed to the humanity of the Americans. They were not allowed to remain on board, however, without obtaining permission from the shogunate. Perry was predictably loath to risk undermining the newly established official relations between Japan and the United States for the sake of accommodating a couple of unknown young men. In a last attempt to get the Americans to reconsider, Shōin passed a note to Perry’s chief interpreter, Samuel Wells Williams (1812-84), asking for an interview with the Kantonjin Ra Shin 廣東人羅森 (the Cantonese Luo Sen). Williams refused this request, saying that Luo was still sleeping. He had Shōin and Kaneko sent back ashore before dawn.<sup>4</sup>



Figure 1. Kantonjin Ra Shin. Source: Hibata Ōsuke, *Beikoku shisetsu Perī teitoku raichō zue* (Yoshida Ichirō, 1931).

Who was Luo Sen? How did Shōin get to know of him? Why was he involved in Perry’s expedition, and what kind of views did he hold regarding the opening of Japan? Based largely on contemporary sources that include the journals of Luo, Williams, and Perry, this article attempts to answer these questions and thereby to shed new light on little-explored language problems in Perry’s diplomacy toward Japan in the early 1850s.

### I. Chinese as a Medium in U.S.-Japan Negotiations

When talking about the opening of Japan in 1853-54, many people simply assume that the negotiations were carried on with the assistance of English and Japanese interpreters, as bilateral talks between the two nations would be today. Few give any attention to the question of what languages were actually used. As a matter of fact, Chinese and Dutch were the principal languages employed.

In the first formal meeting between the

Americans and bakufu officials at Kurihama 久里浜 on 14 July 1853, Perry presented President Millard Fillmore's letters and letter of his own to the Japanese. With the English originals of these, he provided Chinese and Dutch translations.<sup>5</sup> When he came back the next year and presented the Japanese a draft of a U.S.-Japan Treaty of Peace and Amity, that document was essentially an abridged version of the Wangxia Treaty 望廈條約 signed by China and the United States, and he gave the bakufu representatives Chinese and English copies of that treaty, which had been executed in 1844.<sup>6</sup> At this time—March 1854—the Americans apparently suggested that bilateral communication should be carried on in Chinese and Dutch. Dutch should be used for oral communication, and Chinese for documentation and so-called “brush conversation” (筆談 Jp. *hitsudan*, Ch. *bitan*).

This “suggestion” made sense to the Japanese because they had a long tradition of Chinese studies extending back to ancient times, and they had been developing expertise in Dutch learning from the mid-eighteenth century. Throughout the two centuries of *sakoku* 鎖国 (seclusion), they still maintained trade relations with the Dutch and Chinese, and this contact had given them incentive to keep up skills in these two languages. In addition, it had since the time of Tokugawa Ieyasu been the practice for the master of the Hayashi house to handle diplomatic correspondence (in Chinese) with the Korean envoys 朝鮮通信使 and to act as a foreign affairs advisor to the Tokugawa shogun. From the third generation, that is, from the time of Razan's 羅山 grandson Hōkō 鳳岡, the master served as Daigaku no kami, the head of the Shōheikō 昌平黌, the shogunal college where Confucian studies (concentrating mainly on writings in Chinese) were paramount. It was the tenth generation, Hayashi Sōken 林壯軒, who translated Fillmore's letter from its Chinese version in 1853, and the eleventh generation, Hayashi Fukusai 林復斎 (1800-59), who was the bakufu's chief commissioner in the treaty negotiations with Perry in 1854.<sup>7</sup>

The American suggestion of use of Chinese and Dutch was conditioned by a choice that Perry made before coming to Japan. He could have hired Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), the German doctor and scholar who had served at the Dutch factory in Nagasaki in the 1820s and had written several books about Japan. As Perry was preparing his expedition, Siebold was known to be drafting diplomatic documents for renewed Dutch and Russian efforts to open Japan. Perry was determined, however, to break out of the mold of the traditional Dutch type of restrained and humble diplomacy toward Japan. Thus, although he made use of Siebold's published information about Japan, the naval officer-diplomat refused to employ Siebold as interpreter, and hired his fellow American Williams instead. Williams himself regarded this decision as questionable “so far as obtaining efficient intercourse with the Japanese goes.”<sup>8</sup> Beyond the issue of efficiency of communication, however, there was a consideration that Williams overlooked. His very lack of past exposure to Japan meant that he came to Perry's mission with a clean slate. The German doctor, on the other hand, had gotten into trouble with shogunal authorities in 1828 when he tried to take maps of Japan out of the country, in violation of prohibitions. Siebold's direct involvement would not necessarily have been an advantage to, and might have jeopardized, Perry's negotiations with the Japanese.

Williams was hired as the chief interpreter despite having told Perry clearly at their



Figure 2. Williams, “who knows some Japanese.”

Source: Same as for Figure 1.

initial meeting in 1853 that “I had never learned much more Japanese than was necessary to speak with ignorant sailors who were unable to read even their own books, and that practice in even this imperfect medium had been suspended for nearly nine years.” He considered himself “ill prepared upon the duties of this position.”<sup>9</sup>

In reading and speaking Chinese, by contrast, Williams did have confidence in himself. He had been in China since 1833 as printer for the Canton press of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and he made contributions to and became an editor of the *Chinese Repository* (1832-51), a journal initiated by Elijah C. Bridgman. By the time Perry was looking for an interpreter, Williams had composed several books on the Chinese language, and his *The Middle Kingdom: A Survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts, and History of the Chinese*

*Empire and Its Inhabitants* (1848) was the standard book on China for the English-speaking world (and would remain so for the rest of the century).<sup>10</sup> He was an experienced translator and writer. Yet Williams still needed a Chinese assistant to help him polish his translations and copy them in elegant calligraphy that would impress the Japanese officials with whom Perry would be conducting diplomacy. Williams also planned to use his free time during the lengthy voyage to continue his study of Chinese and to work on translation projects. This justified the employment of a Chinese assistant.

For the first expedition, Williams hired his Chinese tutor, an old man named Sieh 薛.<sup>11</sup> It would seem that the choice was not carefully made, for Sieh was actually an incurable opium addict. Smoking heavily during the voyage, he eventually died a month before the Kurihama meeting, when the fleet was still anchoring in Ryukyu. Perry’s deep concern about the incident and its negative consequences on the mission can be seen in his diary of 11 June:

At one o’clock this morning the old Chinaman, who had been employed by Mr. Williams as interpreter, breathed his last, aged as he said 55 years. He was an educated man, and had been employed to teach the Chinese language to foreigners,

among others to Mr. Williams. He had for many years of his life been an inveterate opium smoker, and his frame had become so weak and attenuated in consequence, that when he came on board this ship, everyone predicted that he could not long survive. Thus we are left without a Chinese interpreter, for though Mr. Williams can convey the meaning of English words into the Mandarin dialect, and thus dictate, he cannot himself write the Mandarin language.<sup>12</sup>

Acting quickly, the Americans obtained a replacement for Sieh in Shanghai, from which the fleet was getting supplies on a regular basis. The new man was brought to Naha and presented to Williams. Speaking different dialects of Chinese, they had trouble understanding one another. Williams complained that he found his new assistant “a mere office copyist” who was unable to suggest alternative wording in the process of translation, but with patient effort they managed to put the letters of Fillmore and Perry into Chinese, and the primary purpose of Perry’s first voyage—to hand these letters to the Japanese government at a place in Edo Bay so as to force it to consider abandoning its seclusion policy—could be accomplished.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast to the unhappy experiences with old Sieh and the man from Shanghai, Luo Sen’s participation in the 1854 voyage was a big help to Williams. Shortly before departure for Japan, on 11 January, Williams confided his hopes about Luo to his journal: “I have secured the assistance of Lo, a teacher of good attainments and no opium smoker, so that I hope to do more study than I had before.”<sup>14</sup>

Luo Sen (Xiangqiao 向喬, ca. 1821-ca. 1899) was from Nanhai 南海 county in Guangdong province. At the time Williams employed him, he was doing business in Hong Kong, and his occupation brought him into contact with Englishmen and Americans.<sup>15</sup> Asked by a friendly Japanese official why he had accepted a position with Perry’s expedition, Luo frankly confessed that his dissatisfaction with Qing officialdom had entered into his decision:

During the war with the English [the Opium War], I led a body of braves, and put forth all my strength in the service of my country. Yet afterwards the officers of the government, bent on nothing but gain, made no account of my devotion and efforts. It was this neglect which set my mind on traveling abroad, and led me to my present position on board this steamer.<sup>16</sup>

It was Williams’ good fortune to retain the services of an educated Chinese man with an open-minded attitude about the world outside China at a time when most Chinese scholar-gentlemen concentrated their attention and energies on the civil service examinations, the tried and true path to career advancement, and few were willing to cooperate with Westerners.<sup>17</sup> On 11 March, at “Bay of Yedo, off Kanagawa,” Williams wrote a long letter to his wife. In it he detailed the initial meetings between Perry and the Japanese chief commissioner (whose name, he said, “is Lin in Chinese and Hayashi in Japanese”). He remarked also on his pleasant relations with Luo. The Chinese translator, he noted, seemed to have taken an interest in the nature of relations between the sexes in the West, for one thing, and he was getting along well

with the Japanese, for another.

My Chinese clerk, Lo, inquires for news, and I wish he had a line from his family. I tell him all the news from your note which would interest him, and he seems to think in hearing it, that a wife may, after all, be made of some use. He is an excellent man and is making friends among the Japanese by writing poetry on their fans for them; they often communicate with him on paper, there being many who can read and write Chinese readily, though no one talks it. Both of us have plenty to do, so time passes quickly and pleasantly.<sup>18</sup>

Two months later, in a letter from “Hakodadi, Island of Yesso” dated 21 May, Williams told his wife that the unexpected appearance of five American ships—come to survey the port—had frightened the native people, but that Luo was playing an important role in reducing tension, as well as sharing the heavy burden of translation.

I have tried to allay their fears, which in the absence of all special instructions from Yedo were not surprising, and I hope they will soon resume their occupations, seeing that we are friends and may do them good. The non-arrival of the envoy and Dutch interpreter from the capital has thrown the whole business of interpreting upon me, and I can assure you I have business enough for twenty tongues to be kept up at trip-hammer rate of livelong day. . . . Heretofore, most of my talking has been in a small way and on unimportant matters, if I bungled it was not of so much consequence; but now the affair is serious, so I bring Lo into considerable service to make one language help the other, and thereby avoid many mistakes. He takes a lively interest in all our operations and gets on admirably with the natives; he is, indeed, the most learned Chinaman they have ever seen and their delight in showing off to him their attainments in Chinese is increased when he turns a graceful verse or two for them upon a fan; of these he has written, I should think, more than half a thousand since coming to Japan, and nothing pleases him like being asked to do so.<sup>19</sup>

With Luo’s reliable and active assistance, Williams was able to perform his duty as chief interpreter to the satisfaction of his superior. Before leaving Hong Kong for the United States, Commodore Perry addressed Williams in an appreciative letter dated 6 September 1854:

In taking my departure from China I feel myself called upon every sense of propriety and justice to bear the most ample testimony to the talents, zeal, and fidelity with which you conducted the important duties entrusted to your management as Chief Interpreter to the Mission to Japan. I say little when I declare that your services were almost indispensable to me in the successful progress of the delicate business which had been entrusted to my charge. With high abilities, untiring industry, and a conciliating disposition, you are the very man to be employed in such business.<sup>20</sup>

Luo himself was appreciated not only by the American side, but also by the Japanese side, who valued his cultivation and his graceful writing. In Shimoda, he reported, “both men

and women are fond of carrying fans. While I was at this place I am sure I inscribed more than a thousand fans. The governor and the various officers conducting the intercourse with the Americans, all requested my services in this matter."<sup>21</sup> He was complimented several times by the Japanese officials, one of whom conveyed his appreciation in a poem.

Say not our meeting here was all of chance;  
To you we owe the treaty and our peace.  
From far the strangers came, their language strange,  
'Twas well we had your pencil and your tongue.<sup>22</sup>

In Yokohama and Hakodate as well as Shimoda, Luo quickly became popular and received hundreds of requests, from commoners as well as samurai officials, for samples of his poetry written on fans. In Yokohama early in April 1854, he had been sought out by a scholar of the Sendai domain named Ōtsuki Bankei 大槻磐溪 (1801-78), who had gotten a fishing boat to bring him to the American ship, and the men exchanged poems. Upon learning of this,

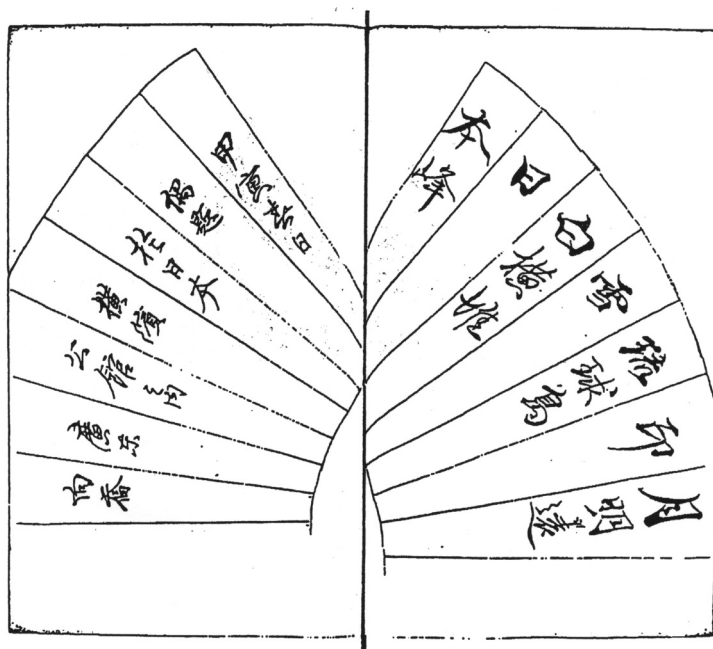


Figure 3. Ra Shin sensu-zu 羅森扇子図. Source: *Ebisu no uwasa* 恵比すのうわさ, in the collection of the National Diet Library.

Yoshida Shōin, who had already conceived his scheme to go abroad and hoped to get concrete advice about how to meet the Americans, invited Ōtsuki to dine with him.<sup>23</sup> It was because of his meeting with Ōtsuki that Shōin asked for an interview with Luo when he was aboard the *Powhatan*—he thought that Luo might be someone who could help him, because Luo previously had been friendly in communicating with the Japanese.



In Ryukyu, also, Luo was welcomed. An example of his receipt of special favor was a gesture by Ryukyu's prime minister Shang-hwang-heun (尚宏勳 pinyin Shang Hongxun, Jp. Shō Kōkun), who, after concluding his negotiations with Perry, presented a scroll to the Chinese interpreter. On it the high Ryukyuan official had copied in his own hand a poem by the prominent neo-Confucian scholar of the Song dynasty Cheng Mingdao 程明道.<sup>24</sup>

## II. Luo's Journal of Perry's 1854 Expedition

On 11 September 1854, about a month after Luo's return to Hong Kong from Japan, the English version of his journal was published under the title "Journal of a Visit to Japan" in *Overland Register and Price Current*, a supplement to the *Hong Kong Register and Government Gazette*. The first time his observations were put into print and made available for public consumption, that is to say, it was in translation—a translation done by Williams.<sup>25</sup> The Chinese edition, *Riben riji* 日本日記 (Japan Journal), appeared later, in three installments of the monthly *Xiaer guanzhen* 遐邇貫珍 (China Serial); the first part came out in November 1854. I call *Riben riji* the "Chinese edition" rather than the "Chinese original" advisedly. The Chinese manuscript handwritten by Luo, which we might call the "actual original," has regrettably been lost. There are important differences in content between the *Riben riji* account and the one rendered in English by Williams. Almost certainly those differences reflected the diverse concerns of the author, the translator, and the editors of the two publications that put the work into print.<sup>26</sup> But the fact that the journal came out almost immediately in two languages is evidence that both Westerners and Chinese were eager to get firsthand information about Japan and American activity there. And Luo delivered quickly: his was the first personal account of the expedition to be published.<sup>27</sup>

In its English version, under the more precise title "Journal of the Second Visit of Commodore Perry to Japan," it was included in the appendixes to the second volume of Perry's official report, the *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, Performed in the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry, United States Navy, by Order of the Government of the United States*. The brief introduction of Luo's account pays him a patronizing compliment:

As it is a specimen of the intelligence of an educated Chinaman, and as, besides, it presents briefly the views of an Oriental, uninfluenced by the prevalent opinions of our countrymen around him, (for difference of language prevented much interchange of thought,) it has been supposed that it would not be without interest to the American reader, and a place has, therefore, been reserved for it in the appendix to this volume.<sup>28</sup>

The identity of the author of these lines remains a puzzle. Was it the editor of the *Narrative*, Francis Hawks, or was it Perry himself? Undoubtedly, however, this comment represents Perry's viewpoint. When the *Narrative* was in preparation, he had written to Williams from New York on 13 March 1855, urging the former chief interpreter to write "some forty or fifty

pages or more” that “would reflect high credit on yourself and furnish a valuable acquisition to my report.” Perry continued, “Do not forget to send to me some translations of Japanese poetry, as also Chinese done into English, if you have any; these scraps can be appropriately introduced. The specimens furnished to the *Hongkong Register* by your Chinese clerk are quite interesting.”<sup>29</sup> Interesting, to be sure, but not to be incorporated into the *Narrative* without a qualifying comment. On the last page of Luo’s “Journal of the Second Visit,” Perry added a note expressing some reservations: “Although there are some errors in the descriptions of the Chinese writer, his paper has been faithfully copied.”<sup>30</sup>

### 1) Explaining the Reasoning behind Japan’s Seclusion Policy

As the editor of the *Overland Register and Price Current* pointed out, a letter addressed to Luo by “Ping-saw-heem-arh-lang” (Hirayama Kenjirō 平山謙二郎, 1815-90; not knowing the Japanese reading of the name of the bakufu foreign affairs official, Williams had romanized it according to its Cantonese pronunciation) is “especially worthy of attention.”<sup>31</sup> Hirayama’s letter takes up nearly two of the total twelve printed pages in the *Narrative* edition. Luo characterized the writer as “a gentleman [of] an ingenious nature and great learning”; Hirayama had been one of the shogunal officials who had supplied food and fuel to the American vessels when they were in Edo Bay, and he had played a key part in settling a number of issues, including the limits of ramble by American officers and crew members when they called at a treaty port. Apart from U.S.-Japan matters immediately at hand, he was also deeply concerned, Luo noted, about “the troubles which are at present distracting my native country,” that is, about the Taiping rebellion.<sup>32</sup> At Hirayama’s request, Luo showed two items he had written, one on the Nanking-centered Taiping rebellion (*Nanjing jishi* 南京紀事), and the other on government policies for maintaining public order (*zhi’an ce* 治安策). The bakufu official read these overnight and returned them with a long letter, a major topic of which was the relations between profit and righteousness, a classic Confucian debate. Hirayama wrote:

The essential evil of such a state [of disorder and decay] may be described in a single phrase—it is the desire of gain. Now the desire of gain is common to all men, and is the pregnant womb of all evil. Confucius seldom spoke of gain, wishing to check the lust of it in its source. This, also, was the reason why my ancestors cut off all intercourse of foreign nations with Japan, because the desire of gain led astray the ignorant people, and wonderful arts in the investigation of principles deceived the perverse, so that they got striving together, seeking gain and hurrying after what was wonderful, till filial duty, modesty, and the sense of shame were all forgotten. To a man who has reached this stage of evil, neither his father nor his sovereign is anything.<sup>33</sup>

If, on the contrary [of good faith and righteousness, which are the principles for mutual intercourse], commerce is conducted merely with a view to gain, quarrels and litigations will spring from it, and it will prove a curse instead of a blessing.

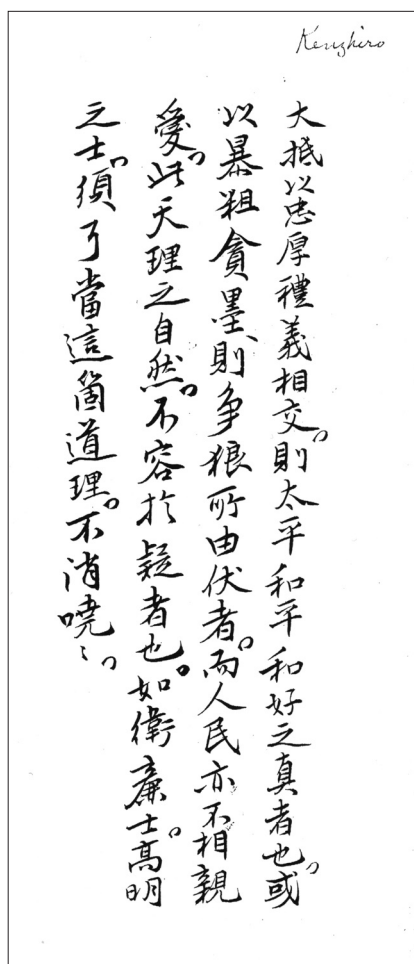


Figure 4. Hiram H. Williams on what is proper in international relations: "Honesty and courteousness bring about peace, but wantonness and greed give rise to conflicts." Source: Williams Family Papers, Yale University.

Against such a result my ancestors were profoundly anxious.... It is but a hair's breadth which separates those different results; for, give selfishness the reins, and the righteousness is instantly merged in the desire of gain.<sup>34</sup>

A footnote to this passage, very likely written by Williams, remarked that this "Japanese gentleman writes Chinese with great freedom. Few, if any, Sinologues from the West could compete with him. Yet his composition might be plainer in some parts than it is. It is not easy to make out his meaning here, where he is touching on an interesting topic—the reason which induced the exclusion of foreigners from Japan"<sup>35</sup>

For most nineteenth-century Westerners, it was hard to understand the Confucian idea that to maintain social order and morality it was desirable to keep common people from gaining profit and seeking the *qiji yinqiao* 奇技淫巧, wonderful arts and excessive dexterity. This idea was a product of the premodern East Asian agricultural society and conservative mentality, which valued a self-sufficient life style and was satisfied with the status quo. Hiram H. Williams erred, however, when he adduced this single idea as the explanation for the decision of the Tokugawa "ancestors" to "cut off all intercourse of foreign nations with Japan." The fundamental concern of the shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu 德川家光, in whose reign the seclusion policies reached their fully elaborated form, was that Western nations would use trade and missionary work as a means for seeking territorial aggrandizement.<sup>36</sup> It was only from around the turn of the eighteenth century, after Confucian ideology had gained its

footing in Japan, that its reasoning came to provide a kind of official explanation for the policy of seclusion.<sup>37</sup>

Hiram H. Williams criticized profit-oriented Western expansion from the Confucian standpoint, pointing out that "all over the globe the strong destroy the weak, and the great swallow the small, as if the societies of men were like collections of tigers and wolves." He urged Luo to use his position on the American steamship to travel around the world spreading the ideas

and “the wishes of Confucius and Mencius 孔孟之志.”<sup>38</sup> Luo appreciated Hirayama’s morality, but tried to persuade him that the “present age is very different from the times of antiquity; but who, with a conscience, can altogether disregard it? Notwithstanding my want of talent, for years I gave myself to the business of the world.”<sup>39</sup> By answering the bakufu official in this manner, Luo helped the Japanese to understand the American visitors, and in doing so went beyond the limits of his duty as a translator.<sup>40</sup>

His practical business experience may have conditioned Luo to take an interest in local products, prices of commodities, and currency exchange rates, for he remarked on these as follows.

Returning to the town [from the seashore of Shimoda] I went into several shops. Among articles for sale in these, lacquered-ware occupies the first place. When I made any purchase, I wrote my name on the article and also the price. The shop keeper then carried it to the officer of customs for the port, who, with his assistants, superintended all matters of buying and selling. A dollar was taken as 1,600 cash. The Japanese themselves have a large copper coin, equal to 100 cash. They have also several coins of gold and silver, and one piece of silver gilt.<sup>41</sup>

[On the streets of Hakodate:] The windows were mostly of paper, as in other places where we had been, and upon many of the doors were pasted Chinese characters, signifying “Wilderness House,” “Tortoise House.” In the shops there was abundance of silks, but of a quality inferior to those of China. Their lacquered ware, however, was admirable, and the shops were soon emptied of it by their visitors. Deer skins, the roach fish, and medicinal sea-weed were to be seen in large quantities. The food of the people was of a better quality than at Simoda.<sup>42</sup>

He was also fond of the *qiji yinqiao*, and described with relish the exhibition of presents brought by Perry to Japan:

A circular railroad had been laid down outside the town, on which the engine and carriage swept round and round with great rapidity, to the astonishment of the beholders. The use of the electric telegraph was by means of copper wires to convey intelligence instantaneously from one place to another. By the daguerreotype apparatus pictures were taken by the reflection of the sun’s light from the object on plates of metal. There is no need for pencils or drawing, and the pictures last long without fading. The lifeboat was fitted with air-boxes, by means of which it was kept from sinking. On occasions of shipwreck, parties may be saved by means of this invention. The implements of agriculture were the most ingenious contrivances for purpose of husbandry used in the United States.<sup>43</sup>

These lines show plainly that the writer was impressed, and it is no wonder that he disagreed with Hirayama’s opinions about economic exchanges and technological advances, although he could show sympathy for the Japanese functionary’s point of view, having held a similar view himself before being exposed to Westerners and Western material culture.

## 2) An Eyewitness Report on the U.S.-Japan Settlement

Luo stated his understanding of Perry's mission at the beginning of his journal: it was to open Japan in order to use it as a steppingstone for establishment of a cross-Pacific passage connecting America and Asia.

Of late years, the intercourse between China and the State of California, in America, has greatly increased in extent and frequency. In consequence, the government of the United States was anxious that steam vessels should run between the two countries, and it became necessary to have an arrangement by which they could purchase coal at the Japanese islands, which lie between America and Asia. To obtain this, several steamers belonging to the United States visited Japan, in the third month of last year, (April or May,) and it was attempted to negotiate a treaty of peace and commerce, but the Japanese could not at once conclude the matter.<sup>44</sup>

On one occasion, wishing to convey his excitement about embarking on a black ship, Luo rhapsodized in poetry:

Eastward my course, the ship of fire I joined,  
On travel bent, new scenes absorb my mind.  
What mountains rise to bless my wandering sight!  
O'er ocean's fields I gaze with vast delight;  
Our wheels! like wings whose power the eagle wields;  
Our helm! 't' its lightest touch the vessel yields;  
We dash along, a car whose steeds are whales;  
Like osprey strong, we sport with furious gales;  
By moonlight calm I saw Lew Chew's fair isle;  
I've marked of Japan's hills the snowy pile.<sup>45</sup>

Having accepted employment by the Americans in their expedition to Japan, what the Chinese scholar wished for was a peaceful settlement between the two nations. He had painful memories of the Opium War and a feeling that China and Japan shared a common cultural tradition. He was always sensitive to the development of tensions, and made efforts to mitigate them and create a peaceful and friendly atmosphere. Of the time when Yokohama was being selected as the meeting place for the negotiations, for instance, he wrote:

On both sides, this being the commencement of intercourse between their respective countries, there seemed at first to be some suspicions. I observed a fleet of more than a hundred Japanese vessels, all with cloth sails, drawn up some distance off, near the shore, and on the land was a camp full of soldiers and their accoutrements, all in preparation for any hostilities which might arise. Next day two or three government boats came off to see the steamers, carrying at their stern a blue and white flag, with the words "Imperial Service" 御用 [*goyō*] on it. The American officers received the parties very courteously, and showed them the guns, trains, and everything on board

their vessel. The visitors were greatly delighted. ...Notwithstanding the difference of their language, I could introduce myself to them by means of the pencil, as they understood the Chinese character, and they responded to me in the same way, expressing their admiration of my country, and their pleasure at making my acquaintance. Many of them wrote down for me their names and titles, and a friendship was thus established between us.<sup>46</sup>

Not privy to the top secrets and perhaps a little naïve, Luo sometimes viewed demonstrations of might by both Americans and Japanese as a kind of entertainment. For example he described in these terms the transport of bags of grain by sumō wrestlers:

In the first decade of the third month (March or April) the commodore had a conference on shore with the Japanese commissioners, on which occasion rows of *japonicas*, in full flower, were arranged outside the building. Lin, the chief commissioner, had several hundred bags of grain, each weighing more than two hundred catties, set down close by, and soon after, there appeared eighty or ninety burly fellows 肥人 [Ch. *feiren*], naked, excepting a cummerbund, though the weather was extremely cold, and taking up the bags, one man two, or three sacks at a time, they removed them, in a twinkling, to the shore. These men were not of uncommon height, but very stout, and immensely muscular. After they had removed the sacks of grain, they were made to exhibit their strength in wrestling and fighting in an open space in front of the reception hall--the victor being rewarded with three cups of wine.<sup>47</sup>

Fortunately Luo was able to see the U.S.-Japan Treaty of Peace and Amity settled on 31 March 1854 without a single exchange of fire, the best result he could have hoped for. There were four versions of the settlement, written in four languages, and Chinese was one of those. Luo composed a poem at the banquet held to celebrate the conclusion of the treaty, and he recorded the event in his journal.

On the same day on which the exhibition of athletes took place, the articles of treaty were settled, and it was arranged that the two ports of Seang-Kwan 箱館 and Hea-teen 下田, called by the Japanese, Hakodadi and Simoda, should be open to vessels from the United States, which should there be supplied with firewood, water, provisions, and coal. The most friendly feeling was displayed by both the contracting parties, and there seemed to be an end of their suspicions. A few days after, Commodore Perry gave an entertainment to Commissioner Lin on board his flagship, the *Powhatan*, which was decked out for the occasion. I made the following lines upon it:

Two nations' representatives at Yokuhama met;  
To show their human brotherhood, the feast of joy was set.  
Here were the chiefs who doff the hat and friendly greetings pay.

And there the heroes with two swords, in proud and bold array.  
 They raised the sparkling cup to prove their words of peace sincere,  
 While roll of drums and clash of bells came thundering on the ear.  
 Love spake from every lip, strained every eye with pleasure,  
 Ever may the treaty last, a good securing measure!<sup>48</sup>

### 3) Chinese Impressions of Social Life in Japan and Ryukyu

Luo's experiences in Japan and Ryukyu were testimony to the enduring power of the common literary culture in East Asia, which enabled him to make friends with the Japanese. His wide acquaintance then was revealed in the following lines.

As the Japanese for two hundred years have had no intercourse with foreigners, and have seen none, excepting the few Chinese and Dutch who carry on the trade at Naga-saki, I found myself quite an object of interest; and as they set a great value on Chinese characters and compositions, whenever I went to the hall of reception many of them were sure to ask me to write on fans for them. The fans I inscribed during a month while we were at Yokohama could not be fewer than five hundred. The applications were, indeed, troublesome, and the writing took up much of my time, but it was difficult to decline acceding to their pressing requests.<sup>49</sup>

By making Japanese friends and appreciating the Japanese kanbun writings and ink painting, Luo was able to observe things about Japan that Westerners ignorant of Chinese culture could not see.

#### 3.1) Samurai

At first Luo found the appearance of Japanese samurai a little strange. "Their dress was wide and loose, with large sleeves. Each man had a couple of swords at his girdle. Their hair was tied up in a knot, a small space over the *pia mater* in front being shaven. They wore shoes made of straw, and their trowsers were of gay and very various colors."<sup>50</sup>

But as a man of literary attainment, Luo was particularly drawn to Japanese persons with some sort of talent, and not surprisingly many of those he liked were samurai, since people of that status were well educated and acquainted with Chinese culture. He noted that when he was leaving Hakodate, he received from high-ranking officers of the Matsumae domain two ink paintings in rolls which were "not to be distinguished from those common in China", and several volumes of books which were "superior in terms of printing quality."<sup>51</sup> He also mentioned that upon his departure from Japan, he exchanged writings with several officials. The above-mentioned Hirayama, for example, gave him a fan on which he had copied the famous poem by Wang Wei 王維 written on the occasion of the Tang poet's seeing a friend off on a journey westward on the Silk Road.<sup>52</sup> Luo was also taken with "a young gentleman named Kwei-ching-min" 桂正敏, the attendant of a commissioner, whom he described as "of much intelligence and liveliness. All the visitors were very fond of him, and he had a great knack of drawing their likenesses."<sup>53</sup>



In a conversation with “Hop-yuen-tsaon-chwang” 合原操蔵, an official serving at Uraga, Luo learned that “both in the civil and military departments, officers were appointed after examination, only importance was not attached, as in China, to the making of verses; that the books of which they studied were those of Confucius and Mencius, and the writers of their school, and that after passing the examinations, and being approved as competent for office, parties were privileged to wear two swords.”<sup>54</sup> This information reflected the fact that in the late Tokugawa era, the shogunal academy Shōheikō adopted certain procedures from the Chinese civil service examination system, which became the “ladder of success” for some students from hatamoto 旗本 families.<sup>55</sup>

### 3.2) Shimoda

Among the places Luo visited in Japan, Shimoda appealed to him most. He spent several days there visiting various sites. One thing that made a strong impression on him—and that was no doubt of great interest also to Williams and other Western readers of his journal—was that “the people are all Buddhists. All about, on the hill sides and by the seashore, are images of Buddha.”<sup>56</sup> He went on,

On the day after our arrival, the commodore went on shore, and took up his quarters in the Leaou-seen temple [Ryōsenji 了仙寺], on Fae-shun hill. There was a priest in charge of the temple called Yis-tsang, and two neophytes with him. Inside was a large hall for the worship of Buddha, and along the sides of it were many tombs—small structures made of stones—which it was the duty of the priests to sweep and keep clean, and where they presented daily offerings of flowers. The parties buried in them had, during their lifetime, made contributions to the temple. Behind the temple was a small pillared dome, built of stone, a small fish-pond, and many flowers and fruits.... Most of them [the women visiting the temple] were good looking, and before marriage their teeth are beautifully white. After they have children, however, they stain the teeth black with gall-nut powder.<sup>57</sup>

He touched on women’s practice of teeth-blackening (*ohaguro* お歯黒), then continued with observations about one traditional type of house, the *nagaya* 長屋, and about *kon’yoku* 混浴 (mixed bathing).

On another day I walked through the streets, and looked at the shops and houses. Some of them were built of bricks and covered with tiles, while others were merely huts of straw. They were mostly connected together, so that one could walk a long way, just passing from one house to another.... Many of the men go about without any covering but the cummerbund, and the women think nothing of looking at obscene pictures [淫画 Ch. *yanhua*, Jp. *inga*]. There are bathing houses, to which both the sexes resort without distinction. The women came always in crowds to see a foreigner, but ran off when any of the two-sworded gentry [双刀人 Ch. *shuangdaoren*] made their appearance.<sup>58</sup>



Viewing these peaceful scenes in Shimoda, Luo could not help but contrast them with the chaos in contemporary China, where the Taiping rebellion was intensifying. He attributed the order that he saw in Japan to the effectiveness of the government there.

Now every village (country) has that which is good in its order and government. Though Japan is a smaller country than China, yet robbing and oppression are unknown in it. The doors of the houses are for the most part but thin boards, or frames with paper pasted over them; yet a case of theft is hardly ever heard of. Surely these things are sufficient to prove the excellence and ability of its rulers.<sup>59</sup>

### 3.3) Ryukyu

If Shimoda seemed somewhat exotic to Luo, Ryukyu was more familiar. He discovered many similarities with Ming China:

On the first day of our new year, (January 29,) I went on shore for a ramble, and finding a lot of boys on the street, gave them a few cash, which greatly delighted them. The people were very humble. Outside the doors of some of the houses congratulatory sentences [新春聯 Ch. *xinchunlian*] were posted up, as in China at the new year, but there was no excitement and no other sign of rejoicing. At Napa [Naha 那覇] I found a temple, and in the garden attached to it the burying place of the families of distinction. The surnames and names of the dead, and the time when they lived, were engraven on tombstones....The tombs of the common people are like those which obtained in China during the time of the Ming dynasty.<sup>60</sup>

Luo also remarked that “From the time of the Ming dynasty, its chief has received investiture from our emperor, having the title of king [世封王爵 Ch. *shifeng wangjue*],”<sup>61</sup> and mentioned that the dishes served at a Ryukyuan court banquet were nearly identical to those routinely used by the gentry class (to which he belonged) in China.<sup>62</sup>

## III. Epilogue

Until the conclusion of the Kanagawa Treaty, and for a short time afterward, both the Americans and the Japanese were comfortable and confident in using the Chinese language as an official medium of communication. Williams preferred to use Chinese for documentation as well as for “brush conversation” on occasions when a Dutch interpreter was not available. Such a case occurred at Hakodate on 18 May 1854, when treaty privileges including the liberty to ramble had to be explained to the local officials. Williams noted in his journal, “The interview was rather tedious by reason of its having mostly to be written in Chinese, for I did not like to trust to talking.”<sup>63</sup> He did realize later, however, that some confusion and misunderstanding might be attendant on interpretations when “the medium of communication is imperfect.”<sup>64</sup>

On 13 June 1854, when Perry and Hayashi Fukusai were exchanging accusations at a meeting held in Shimoda—of spying and giving away obscene books on the part of the

Japanese, and of drunken frenzy and giving away Bibles on the part of the Americans—the “confusion and misunderstanding” caused by the imperfect medium of communication that Williams had realized unexpectedly became a serious political problem:

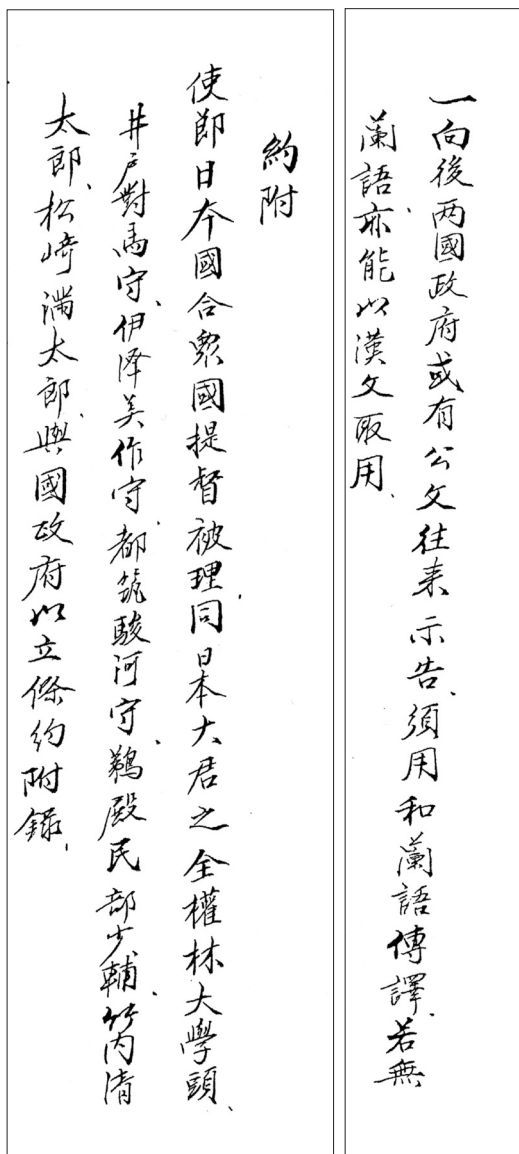
A letter was brought in just received from Hokkaido via Yedo, inclosing some of our written conversations held there, and stating that Perry had declared that, if he could not have ten *ri* 里 about Hakodadi as limits [for ramble], he would make the Japanese to pay 10,000 cobans [*koban* 小判, the gold coin of Edo period] as damages [caused by the delay in making the promised arrangements and the wasted sailing cost from Kanagawa to Hakodate]. The matter was placed in its true relations, but I could understand enough to hear them charge Lo and me with misinterpreting on these matters, and making trouble.<sup>65</sup>

According to Japanese records, Perry was perplexed at Hayashi's cross-questioning, trying to deny that he had made such a threat and to shift the blame for the misunderstanding to Luo alone. It seems doubtful that this was justified, however, when we think about Luo's function; he should have been taking Williams' dictation, and we can almost surely assume that he was. It is hard to believe that Perry's words could have been misunderstood by Williams and turned into a threat when written down by Luo. Precisely where the misunderstanding lay is not clear today, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that by blaming the Chinese translator, Perry was just attempting to save face.<sup>66</sup>

Shortly after this acrimonious diplomatic game was played to its end, the “Additional Regulations” concerning the limits of ramble in Hakodate and Shimoda were signed, on 20 June 1854. These Additional Regulations included a clause stipulating that U.S.-Japanese communications would henceforth be carried on in Japanese, English, and Dutch only, and Chinese would *not* be used in documentation. This provision was inserted at the insistence of Moriyama Einosuke 森山栄之助 (1820-71), the capable and vigorous chief Dutch interpreter for the bakufu.<sup>67</sup>

Unsatisfied with this clause and believing that Moriyama's ulterior motive in “discarding entirely the use of Chinese in all official communications” was “to keep the whole intercourse in his [own] hands,” Williams persuaded the Japanese to accept a compromise on the language problem. No Chinese would be allowed “*when there was a Dutch interpreter*” on the scene (emphasis added). But this wording was largely symbolic; as a practical matter, Chinese was no longer recognized. Williams could only lament that “the Japanese hardly know how to behave towards foreigners; . . . the mutual ignorance of each other's language further opposes much intercourse.”<sup>68</sup>

Chinese, the East Asian “Latin” and *lingua franca*, thus disappeared from official U.S.-Japan communications as a medium language in the last phase of Perry's expedition, after it had played a pivotal role in the major negotiations earlier on. Luo Sen did not record in his journal the incident of 13 June in which Perry had blamed him nor did he mention the suspension of use of Chinese as an official medium. We have no way to know his thoughts about these matters. The late historian Hora Tomio 洞富雄, who published a Japanese



Figures 5a (left) and 5b (right). Luo Sen's copy of the "Additional Regulations" specifying the role of the Dutch and Chinese languages. In the original, the passage in 5a appears before 5b. Source: Williams Family Papers, Yale University.

translation of Williams' journal in 1970, speculated that both Williams and Luo—especially Luo—must have felt relieved (*kiraku* 気楽) upon being released from the troublesome job (*mendō na shigoto* 面倒な仕事) of composing the Chinese documents.<sup>69</sup> But this is only Hora's guess.

Whatever Luo Sen's true feelings, it is clear that the Perry negotiations defined a pivotal point in the history of language use in diplomatic communication. Until the mid-nineteenth century, Japan was generally perceived by the West as closely related to China, as an integral part of the Chinese cultural sphere. This was one of Perry's primary reasons for his decision to choose Williams and to use Chinese as a medium for his approach to Japan. It was why, moreover, the British Foreign Office at the time sent diplomats and interpreters who had been appointed to positions in the British legation in Edo first to China; the assumption was that knowledge and experiences gained in China would be directly relevant and beneficial in performing duties in Japan. It was only after Japan's opening that the Westerners learned to appreciate the significance of the differences between the Chinese and Japanese languages.<sup>70</sup>

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*Yoshida Shōin zenshū*

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The petition copied by Luo and the attached note written by Shoin himself are preserved in the Williams Family Papers at the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University. See Tao 2003b and 2004a.

<sup>2</sup> Yoshida Shōin, “Kaikoroku” 回顧録, *Yoshida Shōin zenshū*, vol. 7, p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> J. W. Spalding was the officer who received Yoshida Shōin’s petition at Shimoda. See chapter five of Spalding 1855.

<sup>4</sup> Yoshida Shōin, “Sangatsu nijūshichiya no ki” 三月二十七夜の記, *Yoshida Shōin zenshū*, vol. 7, pp. 413-18. In most of the English writing that mentions him, Luo Sen is called “Lo,” following the Cantonese pronunciation of his name. His given name is generally omitted. I have decided to use the pinyin romanization of the *putonghua* pronunciation of his full name. This is the spelling used in the catalogues of, for example, the Library of Congress, the Harvard University Library, and the Yale University Library.

<sup>5</sup> Hawks 1856-57, vol. 1, p. 260.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 350. Katō Yūzō, emeritus professor of East Asian history and former president of Yokohama City University, has studied the issue of language usage in the U.S.-Japanese negotiations of the 1850s, particularly the use of kanbun as a medium for negotiation, for many years. See Katō 1988, pp. 126-27; Katō 1991; Katō 1993; and Katō 1994, pp. 399-406..

<sup>7</sup> Katō 1988, pp. 57, 66, 124-25. The bakufu could have used a Japanese who spoke English as interpreter in communicating directly with the Americans. Nakahama Manjirō 中浜万次郎 (1827-98),



a fisherman from the Tosa domain, had been saved by an American ship after an accident at sea in 1841. He was taken to the United States and received an education there before returning to Japan in 1851. Shortly after Perry's first visit, the bakufu had given him a post, and Egawa Hidetatsu 江川英竜 (1801-55; *kaibō gakari*, officer for maritime defense in 1853) had recommended that Nakahama should be assigned as interpreter for the negotiations with Perry's mission. Both the lord of Mito Tokugawa Nariaki 徳川斉昭 (1800-60) and the chief bakufu senior council member Abe Masahiro 阿部正弘 (1819-57) objected, however, having doubts about the loyalty of someone who had returned from overseas. They were afraid Nakahama might defect to the American side. See Nakahama 1991, pp. 106-107; Kawasumi 1990, p. 1100. For information on an interview conducted immediately before Nakahama Manjirō's employment by the bakufu, see Katō 1988, pp. 77-86.

<sup>8</sup> Williams 1889, p. 186.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. Williams had joined the party on the *Morrison* in 1837 when that American commercial ship sailed to Japan in an attempt to repatriate several shipwrecked Japanese. He had learned some Japanese from one of them, and managed to prepare a translation of the Gospel of Matthew. In a pamphlet published in 1849, *Independent Oriental Nations and a Plan for Opening, Extending, and Protecting American Commerce in the East*, the American trader Aaron H. Palmer enthusiastically endorsed Williams as an American missionary and Sinologist who knew the Japanese language and collected Japan-related books and maps. Palmer also petitioned the president, through the secretary of state, about the potential of the Asian market. It might have been because of Palmer's mentioning his name that Williams was approached by Perry immediately after the latter arrived in Hong Kong in early April 1853. See Hora 1970, p. 531; Williams 1889, pp. 99-100.

<sup>10</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 20, p. 290. Perry indicated his appreciation of Williams' achievements by including him in a list of authorities: "Upon those subjects [China's commercial and social conditions] volumes have been recently published by persons whose long residence in the country has qualified them to impart information upon every topic connected with this singular empire. I may refer to the *Chinese Repository*; Martin's *China*; *China* by Davis; *Middle Kingdom* by S. Wells Williams; *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*; *A Visit to the Five Consular Ports*, by G. Smith, Lord Bishop of Victoria; *An American's Sojourn in Canton*; etc." See Pineau 1968, p. 55. Two of Williams' works on Chinese language were published before the Perry expedition: *Easy Lessons in Chinese, or Progressive Exercises to Facilitate the Study of that Language, Especially Adapted to the Canton Dialect* (Macao: Office of the Chinese Repository, 1842) and *Ying Hwá Yun-fú Lih-kiái* 英華韻府歷階 (An English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect) (Macao: Office of the Chinese Repository, 1844). Within two years of his return from Japan he showed his mastery of Cantonese in *Ying wá fan wan tsüt iú* 英華分韻撮要 (A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect) (Canton: Office of the Chinese Repository, 1856).

<sup>11</sup> According to Williams' spelling, "Sieh" was for the Chinese character 薛. See Williams 1874, p. 798.

<sup>12</sup> Pineau 1968, p. 71.

<sup>13</sup> Williams 1910, p. 42. Also aboard the *Caprice*, the ship that brought Sieh's replacement, was another Chinese interpreter, a man named Qian Wen-qi 錢文琦, hired to aid B. Bettelheim, mentioned below in note 26. Bettelheim was as disappointed as Williams with his new assistant's Shanghai dialect. See Teruya 2004, p. 265.

<sup>14</sup> Williams 1910, p. 83.

<sup>15</sup> Luo 1971, pp. 289-293.

<sup>16</sup> Luo 1854, p. 400.

<sup>17</sup> It was not easy for Williams to secure a qualified Chinese assistant. Most Chinese scholars at that time concentrated their attention and effort on the civil service examinations, the tried and true path to career advancement. Few were willing to cooperate with Christian missionaries, partly because they held fast to traditional Sino-centric views and partly because anti-foreignism was strong and widespread following the Opium War. Yet there were some, if not many, candidates who had failed in their attempts to climb the “ladder of success” and had grown frustrated with the traditional examination system; they were ready to explore new opportunities at this unprecedented moment of Western impact. Men of learning of this mindset were exemplified by Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全, the leader of the Taiping rebellion, who claimed a personal (indeed genetic) relationship with the Christian God and Christ, and Wang Tao 王韜, the Shanghai “treaty-port intellectual” who helped a British missionary to translate the Bible and assisted the great missionary-scholar James Legge in his project of translating the Confucian classics. See Cohen 1974, p. 57; Satō 1991; and Katō 1994, pp. 356-57.

<sup>18</sup> Williams 1889, p. 212. For example, Luo thought that Williams’s interest in botany had something to do with the teachings of Confucius: “The azalea is very abundant on the hills about, nor are other flowers rare. My friend made large collections of them, which he afterwards dried and preserved for future study, showing himself worthy to be a disciple of Confucius, who advised his followers to read the book of Odes, that they might become acquainted with the names of birds and animals, plants and trees.” Luo 1854, p. 404.

<sup>19</sup> Williams 1889, p. 219.

<sup>20</sup> Williams 1889, pp. 229-30. Later in 1856, Perry further recommended Williams for the position of secretary and interpreter of the American legation in China. William remained in that post for two decades. In 1876, he returned to the U.S., where he served as a professor of Chinese language and literature at Yale and as president of the American Bible Society and the American Oriental Society.

<sup>21</sup> Luo 1854, pp. 404-5. I was told by the local historian Sasaki Tadao that a great earthquake occurred in late 1854, putting the whole town of Shimoda under water. This could explain why the fans that Luo inscribed cannot be found today.

<sup>22</sup> Luo 1854, p. 402.

<sup>23</sup> Yoshida Shōin, “Kaikoroku” 回顧録, *Yoshida Shōin zenshū*, vol. 7, p. 390.

<sup>24</sup> Luo 1854-55, See Wang 1983, p. 43.

<sup>25</sup> It was F. W. Williams who identified his father S. Wells Williams as the translator of Luo’s journal for the *Hongkong Register*. Williams 1889, p. 218.

<sup>26</sup> *Xiaer guanzhen*, the earliest Chinese monthly in Hong Kong, was published by the Ying-Hua shuyuan 英華書院 (Anglo-Chinese College) between 1853 and 1856. A total of thirty-four issues appeared. See Matsuura 2001, pp. 393-411; Matsuura et al. 2004. The Chinese edition of Luo’s journal included some information that was omitted from the English version, such as the purchases of commodities by the Americans according to the U.S.-Ryūkyū treaty and Luo’s visit to the residence of Bernard Bettelheim (1811-1870), the British naval missionary and medical doctor in Ryūkyū whom Williams disliked. (The mutual distrust of the two missionaries was partly due to their different expertise in Chinese language ability: Williams could only speak Cantonese then, but Bettelheim could speak both Mandarin and the Ryukyū dialect and thus was able to serve as the interpreter for Perry in his negotiations with the prime minister of the Ryukyū Kingdom [see Teruya 2004, pp. 254-59].) Vice versa, the English version contained information that was missing in the Chinese edition, such that as Luo’s discontent with the Qing government had led to his departure from Guangdong and moves to Hong Kong and Macao. We can speculate on the reasons for the differences; probably Luo needed to

return home to see his relatives from time to time, for example, and if the *Xiaer guanzhen* edition had included that information, it might have gotten him into trouble—Qing officials would have been far more likely to read the Chinese version than the English. I have searched for but not been able to find Luo's "actual original" manuscript diary in the Williams Family Papers. But whatever might have happened to the "actual original," Luo's account has yet to be thoroughly explored, at least in the English literature. One reason for the neglect was that its English version was marginalized early on; although it was included in Perry's official report (see Hawks 1856-57), it was relegated to a relatively obscure placement, in the appendix to the second volume. A Japanese translation of the English version was not published until quite recently (see Kitayama 1997). Among the few English studies that have mentioned Luo, Peter Wiley depicted him playing the role of fortune-teller, and cited his prediction of the future according to his reading of the movement of the clouds—symbols of great cosmic forces. Luo forecast that "the heavens prognosticate that our expedition will finally be successful, but difficulties will have to be overcome in the first." (Wiley 1990, pp. 377-378). Unlike the English version, the Chinese edition of Luo's journal has been known to the Japanese since the mid-nineteenth century. As Maehira Fusaaki noted, Yoshida Shōin had read Luo's journal when he was in jail, and Shimazu Nariakira 島津斉彬 (1809-58), the Lord of the Satsuma domain, had been an avid reader of *Xiaer guanzhen*, the periodical in which the journal was published (see Maehira 1991). The journal was included under the title of *Beikoku shisetsu zuikō Shinkokujin Ra Shin Nihon nikki* 米国使節随行清国人羅森日本日記 in the official compilation of late-Tokugawa foreign relations documents published in the early Taishō period (BGKM, pp. 633-647). In the 1960s Nohara Shirō completed a modern Japanese translation (see Okada 1961), and Hora Tomio examined the Japanese documents relevant to Luo and Perry's visits to Japan and Ryukyu when he was translating Williams's journal (Hora 1970). Concerning Japanese responses to the news about the Taiping rebellion brought by Luo Sen, Masuda Wataru made use of the Chinese interpreter's journal in 1972 (see "*Manshin kiji* to sono hissha; Wagakuni ni tsutaerareta Taihei tengoku ni tsuite" 『満清紀事』とその筆者：我が国に伝えられた「太平天国」について in Masuda 1979, pp. 280-320; Fogel 2000). Following Masuda's work, Wang Xiaoqi republished the Chinese version in China and made a detailed study of it (see Wang 1983; Wang 1997). Recently, my colleagues at Kansai University Professors Matsuura Akira, Uchida Keiichi, and Shen Guowei published *Kaji kanchin* [*Xiaer guanzhen*] no kenkyū: 1853-1856 Chinese Serial. This includes a complete set of the periodical based on copies of the original edition in the collection of SOAS (property of the Council for World Mission), a newly-made index, and detailed explanations of the background and contents. This fine work will greatly facilitate future study of Luo Sen's journal, making it possible to place his observations in a broader contemporary context (see Shen Guowei, "*Kaji kanchin* kaidai" 『遐邇貫珍』 解題, in Matsuura et al. 2004, pp. 91-128).

<sup>27</sup>Although a few private journals kept by the participants in the expedition began to appear from early 1855 on, Luo's was published prior to all the others. For a list of those publications, see Hora 1970, pp. 536-538.

<sup>28</sup> Luo 1854, p. 395.

<sup>29</sup> Williams 1889, p. 231.

<sup>30</sup> Luo 1854, p. 406.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 395. Hirayama's position at that time was known as *kachi metsuke* 徒目付. An able functionary and a faithful Confucianist, he was promoted in the 1867 to *wakadoshiyori* 若年寄 (bakufu junior councilor) and *gaikoku sōbugyō* 外国総奉行 (superintendent of foreign affairs). For a biographical sketch, see Kamata 2002, pp. 15-25, 247-52.

<sup>32</sup> Luo 1854, p. 398. For a Chinese poem by Hirayama composed in early 1854 when Perry had just returned to Japan, see Hora 1970, p. 252.

<sup>33</sup> Luo 1854, p. 398.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 399.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 398. It was the phrase “wonderful arts in the investigation of principles deceived the perverse” that the writer of the footnote singled out when he remarked that “it is not easy to make out [Hirayama’s] meaning here.”

<sup>36</sup> Beasley 1955, “The Background of Ideas” in his “Introduction,” pp. 3-18.

<sup>37</sup> For example, to Perry’s request for opening of trade relations, Hayashi Fukusai replied, “Although trade could contribute to the national interests through exchange of commodities, our Japanese nation has been self-sufficient with our own products and has no problems at all even though there are no foreign goods....You have stated earlier that the purpose of your visit was for salvage with concerns about [American] lives and ships. If that wish is obtained, your main purpose should be achieved. As for trade, it is an issue of profits but has nothing to do with people’s lives” (see *Boku-I ōsetsu-roku* 墨夷応接録, BGKM, p. 541).

<sup>38</sup> Luo 1854, p. 399. It is said that when Hirayama was still in his late teens, he read *Yi-Luo yuanyuan-lu* 伊洛淵源錄, a compilation by Zhu Xi 朱熹 of the words and deeds of such rigorous Neo-Confucian thinkers as Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤, Cheng Mingdao 程明道, and Cheng Yichuan 程伊川; by this study, Hirayama became a *dōgakusha* 道学者, that is, a faithful Confucian scholar. See Kamata 2002, p. 15.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 400.

<sup>40</sup> Luo even gave an introductory explanation of Christianity as a monotheism, using Confucian terminology (其所奉者獨一神，神即造化之主宰。所謂昭事上帝，聿懷多福，其明徵歟)，when he responded to a Japanese priest’s question about the Americans’ spiritual life. See Wang 1983, p. 38.

<sup>41</sup> Luo 1854, p. 404. Oliver Statler included a Japanese portrait of Luo in his book *The Black Ship Scroll*. Statler translated the Japanese description of the portrait: “A Chinese man from Canton, called Rasen, who came with the American ships. This man’s duty was to translate documents on shipboard. He is also said to have served as interpreter in Chinese. This picture shows him as he strolled about Shimoda town checking prices on things and buying anything he thought cheap.” He then explained that “Lo was an assistant to Williams,” and observed that “Some of his shopping might have been to help Williams’s friend Dr. Morrow. Morrow was collecting textiles and simple tools, and trying to find their true prices, rather than the inflated prices charged the Americans” (Statler 1963, p. 54).

<sup>42</sup> Luo 1854, pp. 405-6.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 401.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 395.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 405.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 400.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 401.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>51</sup> Wang 1983, p. 41; Luo 1854, p. 406.

<sup>52</sup> Wang 1983, p. 41. Entitled “Song Yuan Er shi An’xi” 送元二使安西, this famous Tang poem contains only four lines, of which two are very frequently cited (*quan jun geng jin yibei jiu, xi chu yangguan wu guren* 勸君更進一杯酒，西出陽關無故人). For some reason, however, Williams did not

include it in the English version.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 42; Luo 1854, p. 406.

<sup>54</sup> Luo 1854, p. 400-1.

<sup>55</sup> For a detailed study of the examination systems, see Hashimoto 1993. Hashimoto writes that there had been some preliminary attempts to use examinations to select capable men for official appointment during Tokugawa Yoshimune's reign, but the real experiments were undertaken with the support of Matsudaira Sadanobu in the period of Kansei reforms, and the use of examinations continued to grow in the bakumatsu period.

<sup>56</sup> Luo 1854, p. 403.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 403.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 403.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 404.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 396.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 396.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>63</sup> Williams 1910, p. 187.

<sup>64</sup> Williams' full comment on the disputes of 10 June concerning the limits of ramble in Shimoda was: "The incident was a good illustration of the ease with which a confusion of purposes may arise where the medium of communication is imperfect, and little pains taken to state the intention of each side. Isaboro accused me of misinterpreting and lying; so [the Flag Lieutenant] Mr. Bent was addressed in a long speech in Japanese and, to make the matter plainer, [Hori] Tatsunosuke [堀達之助] tried in vain to put it into English." Ibid., pp. 206-7.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp. 208-10.

<sup>66</sup> For the background information, see Hora 1970, pp. 345-350.

<sup>67</sup> Moriyama had learned English from the American whaler and adventurer Ranald McDonald during the latter's exile in Nagasaki from 1848 to 1849, and had subsequently compiled an elementary English-Japanese dictionary. He also had experience in negotiating with Commander James Glynn, captain of the American battleship *Preble*, which sailed to Nagasaki in 1849 in an effort to take back fifteen American whalers who had become captives in Hokkaido. For commentary on Western diplomats' impressions of Moriyama, see Hora 1970, p. 197. If the proximate cause for the disappearance of Chinese was Moriyama's suggestion, there were some other reasons as well. The inefficiency of "brush conversation" was an apparent fact, and the problem became much more serious as the negotiations went into details. As for the Japanese side, the dramatically increased awareness of the importance of English as a diplomatic and international language must have been a major impulse for them to make such a move.

<sup>68</sup> Williams 1910, pp. 211.

<sup>69</sup> Hora 1970, p. 343.

<sup>70</sup> As the prominent British diplomat Ernest Satow (1843-1929) explained in his reminiscences, "Owing to the prevalence of a belief among those who then had the direction of our affairs in Japan that a knowledge of Chinese was a necessary primary to the study of Japanese, my fellow-student, R. A. Jamieson, and myself were joined early in 1862 by Russell Robertson, who also belonged to the Japan establishment. I pass over our sojourn there, which, though not without its own interest, was not long enough for me to gain any useful knowledge of China. But I learnt a few hundred Chinese characters which were of great help to me afterwards, and I even began the study of Manchu. . . . Our stay at the

Chinese capital was suddenly cut short by the arrival of a dispatch from Yedo, containing the original text of a Note from the Japanese Ministers, which it was found no Chinaman could decipher, much less understand. This was decisive of the question whether the short cut to Japanese lay through the Chinese language. I thought then, and still think, that though an acquaintance with Chinese characters may be found useful by the students of Japanese, it is no more indispensable than Latin is to a person who wish to acquire Italian and Spanish. We were consequently bundled off to Japan with the least possible delay” (Satow 1921, p. 18). Satow’s opinion represented the younger generation in the West who formed balanced views of the relationship between Japanese and Chinese languages and cultures based on their own personal observations and experiences.

## 要旨

### 日米和親条約交渉における中国語の役割 — 羅森『日本日記』等に関する再考 —

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陶徳民

徳川日本の鎖国政策の終焉をもたらした米日交渉において、日本語と英語だけでなく、中国語とオランダ語も公式な交渉用語であった。アメリカ側の首席通訳官 S. W. ウィリアムズは中国における長期滞在の経験があり、日本語よりも中国語の専門家であった。外交文書や筆談記録の作成のため、彼は教養のある中国人助手の協力を必要とし、1854年ペリーの二回目の来航時に羅森を雇った。羅森は日本と琉球を訪問する時、日記をつけていたが、その日記の中国語版と英語版は香港帰着後まもなく出版された。英語版はのちにアメリカ議会の公式文書『ペリー艦隊日本遠征記』（1856–57）にも収録された。羅森の日記は幕末期における日中文化関係に対する洞察や、日・中・米三国間の相互理解と誤解の諸相、および日米間の意思疎通における第三国の言語である中国語の介在の実態を披露した。